Death's Emotional Landscape:
Emotions surrounding Death in the *Man'yōshū*

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What are the proper emotions to present as a mourner? How is one supposed to feel upon the death of a loved one? Is anger proper? Crying? Dismissal? Different cultures express different emotions while grieving. In modern America, people are usually supposed to be sad but also strong. In Chinese tradition, wailing was common because it was an expression of filial piety and grief. What were the proper emotions in early Japan? Despite questions of whether expressed emotions are "true" or authentic, there are always ways in which it is proper/socially acceptable to present emotions and ways in which it is not. One of the ways to present emotions socially in early Japan was through ritual poetry. In his work, *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death,* Gary Ebersole analyzes the ways in which poems in early Japan were used to legitimate and continue the political regime. Since the poems in the *Man'yōshū* are such ritual poems, they present emotions in the normative way, as determined and sanctioned by the ruling court. Therefore, I will analyze the emotions present in the poems concerning death and identify the normative and non-normative emotions expressed therein. These emotions are significant because they show how the mourners made sense of death, as well as how they created poetic spaces in which to publicly grieve. Through this analysis, I will shed light on the proper emotions for grieving in early Japanese courtly life.

The poems that I will analyze are those pertaining to death in books two and three of the *Man'yōshū.* I will pull on the myths in the *Kojiki* 古事記, *Nihongi* 日本書紀, and the *Fudoki* 風土記 to help understand the meanings of the poems, as well as catch any allusions to the myths, indicating a way of understanding death in regard to the myths. Because similar feelings in the myths and the *Man'yōshū* indicate that those particular emotions were normative throughout the court, the myths will be helpful to aid understanding, even though I will not specifically analyze the emotions in the myths. I define an emotion as normative when it is expressed by multiple

groups of attributed authors. For example, in poems about deceased princes, a feeling of loyalty to the deceased is expressed by princesses, another prince, the prince's servants, and other members of the court. This diversity of authors indicates that loyalty is an appropriate emotion for a wide array of people. Regret, on the other hand, is only expressed in one set of poems by a princess and therefore was not a normative emotion. By virtue of its inclusion in the *Man'yōshū,* however, it is acknowledged as a possible emotion to feel after death.

In the course of this paper, I will break my analysis into four categories: poems surrounding the death of an emperor, poems surrounding the death of a prince, poems surrounding the death of princesses, and poems surrounding others. In the first two categories, I will first make an assertion defining the normative emotions for that particular type of death based on the broadest range of diverse authors. Then I will analyze the emotions expressed by a smaller, less diverse range of authors. Finally, I will make mention of any other emotions that are expressed in each category regardless of authorship. For the final category, there is not a diverse range of authors, so I will only analyze the emotions presented in relation to the emotions already discussed. In regards to the death of an emperor, the normative emotions include feelings of the emperor's divinity, concern for other's thoughts, and longing for the emperor. In contrast grief and hopelessness are expressed only by the emperor's sexual partners. Feelings of loyalty, complaints, gentleness, and shock are other expressed emotions. In regards to the death of a prince, a much wider range of normative emotions is present, including feelings of awe for his divinity, disorientation, complaints, loyalty, and hopelessness. Grief, remembering his life with fondness, and shock are expressed only by his servants and other members of the court but not by princesses or fellow princes. Longing and regret are also acknowledged emotions. In regards to princesses, the expressed emotions include: complaint, disorientation, awe, loyalty, and

longing. In regards to others, the expressed emotions include: longing, complaint, shock, hopelessness, disorientation, grief, fond remembrance, regret, and awe. These emotions are all acceptable emotions to express after death, regardless of social or relational status. Although this large range of emotions is expressed in the *Man'yōshū* poetry concerning death, only a handful are normative to express upon the death of an emperor or prince.

Note on Conventions

Since this paper deals with some of the earliest Japanese texts, a note on naming and translation conventions is in order. All names will be given with family name first, followed by the conventional "no" and the given name. The *kanji* of the names will only be given directly following the first mention of a name. All subsequent names will only consist of the family name with the title, with the exception of the imperial family and people with the same family name. For example, Lord Ōtomo no Tabito 大伴旅人 will be referred to throughout as Lord Ōtomo, whereas his son Ōtomo no Yakamochi will be referred to as Yakamochi. All emperors, empresses, princes, and princesses will always be referred to with the name given in the *Man'yōshū*. In regards to the poems, I adapt Ebersole's method by citing poems from the *Man'yōshū* in the following form. MYS 2: 152, 4-5 (1-2) indicates *Man'yōshū* book 2, poem 151, lines 4-5 in the translation, and lines 1-2 in the original text.[1] If the original lines are the same as the translations, no lines will be given in parenthesis.[2] Whenever poems are cited in

[1] Gary L. Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), *Ritual Poetry*, xii.

[2] *The Ten Thousand Leaves: A Translation of the* Man'yōshū, *Japan's Premier Anthology of Classical Poetry: Volume 1* (Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press, 1981).

block text, transliterations will be given to the left of the translation. All transliterations are adapted from the *kana* provided by the Japanese Text Initiative.[3]

Emperor

Normative Emotions

All of the poems concerning the death of an emperor occur during the time of the *mogari no miya* 殯宮 (temporary interment) before the final burial of the emperor in a *misasagi* 陵 (burial mound). This was a liminal period of time for the court during which the next emperor was decided. The female sexual partners would be concealed in the *mogari no miya* with the emperor's corpse and would perform rituals with accompanying poetry to recall and bind the imperial *tama* 魂 (spirit) to prevent its dangerous movement. Not only a highly ritualized time, it was also a highly politicized time because the members of the court would gather together in mourning around the *mogari no miya* and phrase their poems and actions in a way to express support for their particular candidate to ascend to the throne.[4] This context is an all-important backdrop to understanding the poems and emotions surrounding the emperor's death. To reveal the normative emotions of awe at the emperor's divinity, I will analyze poem MYS 2: 151-152 written by an unknown author during the time of the *mogari no miya*. I will then turn to analyzing poems MYS 2: 160-1 which are representative of the feelings of only the deceased emperor's female sexual partners. I will lastly elucidate other non-normative emotions that are recognized by various authors in their poems.

Awe for the emperor's divinity in a normative emotion expressed across a diverse range of authors. Many poems express a feeling of awe for the deceased emperor's divinity by

[3] *Manyoshu*, Japanese Text Initiative, 1999, http://jti.lib.virginia.edu/japanese/manyoshu/AnoMany.html.

[4] Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry*, 123-136.

referring to him as “our Lord, sovereign/ of the earth’s eight corners.”[5] This is a set phrase used to express this feeling, and its expression was deemed typical and even necessary when referring to the emperor. In one poem, the empress especially emphasizes the divinity of the emperor with the additional line “who ruled the realm under heaven.”[6] This is also a phrase that preferences poems in the *Man’yōshū* to locate poems temporarily under a specific sovereign's reign.[7] In the *Kojiki*, a similar phrase is used. Each Emperor’s reign from Suizei 綏靖天皇 through the end of the *Kojiki* begins by stating the name of the sovereign and the place from which he or she “ruled over all under heaven.”[8] Also in this poem by the empress is the line “child of the high-shining sun”[9] which emphasizes the conceived unbroken line of descendants from Amaterasu 天照, the sun goddess, to the deceased emperor. The most interesting and powerful expression of awe at the emperor’s divinity comes from a concubine of the deceased Emperor Tenji 天智天皇 whose name is unclear. The first three lines of the poem read, “As the living are unfit/ for commune with the gods/ so I am separated from you.”[10] The concubine is clearly located within the realm of the living while the emperor is likened to the gods by virtue of his death. He was not separated from her during his life; instead, they both were separated from the gods during his life. Yet,

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[5] MYS: 2: 152, 4-5 (1-2); MYS 2: 155, 2-3 (1-2); MYS 2: 159, 2-3 (1-2); MYS 2: 162, 12 (5-6).

[6] MYS 2: 162, 3 (3-4).

[7] For example, Ian Hideo Levy, *The Ten Thousand Leaves: A Translation of the* Man’yōshū, *Japan’s Premier Anthology of Classical Poetry: Volume 1* (Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press, 1981), 81, 89, 104, etc.

[8] Ō no Yasumaro, *The Kojiki: An Account of Ancient Matters*, trans. Gustav Heldt (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2014), 73, 76, 77, etc.

[9] MYS 2: 162, 6 (7-8).

[10] MYS 2: 150, 1-3.

upon his death, he moves into the realm of the gods since he is considered a direct descendant of the gods.

Concern for other people's thoughts is also a normative emotion to express upon the death of an emperor. The unnamed author of MYS 2: 152 personifies Cape Kara with imagined emotions of longing for the imperial craft and the emperor who will no longer come to visit. This author is also likely referring to a specific person or group of people that the emperor would visit who resided in Cape Kara. In early Japan, it was quite common to refer to people, especially nobility, by their location. For example, in the *Nihongi*, Emperor Ingyō 允恭天皇 makes a series of progressions to the Palace of Chinu supposedly to hunt, but it is clear from the context of the narrative that the reference to Chinu is really a reference to one of his concubines for whom he built a palace there.[11] Therefore, the author of this poem is actually concerned about the thoughts of whoever lived in Cape Kara, specifically about his or her loyalties to the deceased emperor or his or her changing loyalties and where they now lie. Another poem that expresses concern for the thoughts of others is MYS 2: 154. In this poem, written by a concubine, the speaker wonders about the guardian's intentions in continuing to post signs of interdiction to prevent the emperor's death. She may simply be commenting that posting these signs is now useless since the object of its protection has passed, or she may be asking which candidate for the throne this guardian now supports. Yet another poem that presents these feelings is by Princess Nukada 額田王. After describing the courtiers who have come to the *mogari no miya* each day after the

[11] *Nihongi: Volume 1-Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697,* trans. W. G. Aston (New York, NY: Cosimo, Inc, 2008), 321.

passing of the emperor and who have continued to serve him while "weeping and crying aloud,"[12] she asks

momoshikino	Now have the courtiers
ohomiyahitoha	of his great palace,
yukiwakarenamu	its ramparts thick with stone,
	left and gone apart?[13]

By juxtaposing the loyalty with which these courtiers have continued to serve the emperor even after his death with their leaving and going apart, she not only questions their loyalty for the deceased but also raises the question of where their loyalties now lie. They do not seem to lie together because the courtiers go apart after leaving, presumably to support another candidate for emperor.

Longing is another normative emotion. The speaker in the poem about Cape Kara wonders whether the people in Cape Kara are waiting in longing for the emperor.[14] By presenting this feeling as an emotion the author thinks the people should be expressing, it shows that longing was a normative emotion upon the death of an emperor. In addition, the Emperor Tenji's concubine states that she longs for him, but also describes the actions she wishes she could take to keep him close to her to alleviate the intense longing, such as wrapping him around her wrist if he were a jewel.[15] Empress Iwanohime 磐之媛命 also exhibits feelings of intense longing for Emperor Nintoku 仁徳天皇**.** In MYS 2: 86 she wishes that she could die instead of feeling such intense longing for the emperor, and she asks "Which way/ will my longing

[12] MYS 2: 155, 11 (11-12).

[13] MYS 2: 155, 12-15 (13-15).

[14] MYS 2: 152.

[15] MYS 2: 150, 6-8.

disappear?"[16] In the other poems, she emphasizes the fact that she is waiting for the emperor and that she will continue to wait until her hair "be covered with dew"[17] or "until the frost/ cakes [her] trailing black hair."[18] Since she indicates such a long period of waiting, it is clear that she is also longing for the emperor, otherwise she would only wait for a short amount of time or not at all.

Emotions of the Emperor's Recognized Female Partners

The ritual and political contexts in which these poems were performed is not the only thing that should be considered when analyzing these poems for expressions of emotion. The relationship of the attributed author to the deceased should also be taken into consideration. The empresses and concubines were not just prominent political figures who served a ritual function during the time of the *mogari no miya*; they were also recognized throughout the court as being intimately connected to the deceased emperor, and their poems reflect this intimacy and attachment through feelings of intense grief and hopelessness. This is not to make a judgment of whether or not these women truly felt such emotions, only that their recognized relationship with the emperor necessitated the public expression of such emotions. Poems MYS 2: 150 and MYS 2: 159 most effectively showcase emotions of grief and hopelessness. In poem MYS 2: 150, the concubine clearly states the grief she feels in the morning, and the emphasis on her separation from and longing for the emperor juxtaposed with their brief meeting in a dream expresses her grief and pain even more clearly. MYS 2: 159 expresses the empresses' grief even more poignantly. She feels sad and desolate throughout the day and night.[19] Her grief is to the extent

[16] MYS 2: 88, 4-5.

[17] MYS 2: 89, line 4.

[18] MYS 2: 87, lines 4-5.

[19] MYS 2: 159, 11-12 (15-18).

that she is constantly crying, which is why her sleeves "are never dry."[20] Poem MYS 2: 149 also expresses grief because the empress continues to think about the deceased emperor and cannot forget him even though the people around her are urging her to continue on with her life.

Another prominent emotion expressed by the female sexual partners of the deceased emperor is hopelessness. In poem MYS 2: 150, although the concubine wishes to meet the emperor again and keep him close via a jewel, a robe, and a dream, she is still kept apart from him and there is nothing she can do to unite them once more. If there were something she could do, she would, but nothing will bring him back. MYS 2: 154 also expresses this hopelessness as well. In the empress' questioning, she critiques the posting of signs of interdiction because performing this action will no more bring the emperor back to life than wishing he was a jewel or seeing him in a dream. This action brings her no hope. In addition, the empress expresses hopelessness in the following poem:

moyuruhimo	Do they not say
toritetsutsumite	one can pluck a burning fire
fukuroniha	and hold it in a sack?
irutoihazuyamo	So I summon the day
***	when I may meet my Lord.[21]

Although it was a common saying that one could indeed hold a burning fire in a sack,[22] it is just a saying. It is not actually possible to do so. Just as it is impossible to hold fire in a sack, it is impossible for the empress to summon the day she will meet the emperor again. Although this poem ritually serves to recall the *tama*, it is a hopeless endeavor to actually to meet the emperor again.

[20] Ibid., 13-14 (19-21).

[21] MYS 2: 160. The kana of the last line of the original is unknown.

[22] Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry*, 255.

Non-normative Emotions

In addition to the normative emotions of awe of the emperor's divinity, concern for the thoughts of others, and longing, as well as the normative emotions of grief and hopelessness felt by the emperor's female sexual partners, other non-normative emotions are also recognized in the *Man'yōshū*: loyalty, complaint, love, shock, and regret. Discussed above, poems MYS 2: 85-89 express longing, but this longing can also be interpreted as loyalty. The empress asserts that she will continue to wait for him until frost cakes her black hair.[23] In other words, she will be loyal to the emperor until she is an old woman. Poem MYS 2: 149, while expressing, grief and hopelessness also expresses loyalty. As long as this empress remains in mourning in the *mogari no miya* a new emperor cannot ascend to the throne. This ritual time must end before a new emperor can legitimately reign. By prolonging this liminal period, the empress shows that her loyalty is difficult to sway. She does not want to progress to a new reign under a new emperor. Another recognized non-normative emotion is complaint. In poem MYS 2: 159, a subtle complaint is lodged at the deceased emperor by the empress. The grief she expresses in this poem is caused by the emperor's absence. When the empress looks at Kami Hill, she is reminded of the emperor and feels grief, but if he were alive he would do the same actions she remembers and she would not feel grief.[24] Another complaint is found in poem MYS 2: 162. The empress asks "what could have been in his mind?"[25] This is a rather common phrase in the *Man'yōshū,* and it suggests that the deceased had some agency in deciding to die, which frames the death as the fault of the deceased. This means any consequences of the emperor's death, especially

[23] MYS 2: 87.

[24] MYS 2: 159.

[25] MYS 2: 162, 7 (9-10).

emotional responses, are also his fault. In poem MYS 2: 151, two other emotions are expressed: shock and regret. The author expresses that he/she did not know the emperor was going to die. It was unexpected and shocking. If the author had known that death was imminent, he/she would have taken precautions against it. The author feels regret for not doing something before the death. These emotions of loyalty, complaint, shock, and regret are not normative because they do not appear from a variety of authors and because some are expressed in only one poem.

Prince

Normative Emotions

The ritual context in which poems concerning the death of a prince were performed is very similar to the context of the emperor. After death, the corpse was placed in a *mogari no miya*, but instead of being erected within the courtyard of the palace as the emperor's *mogari no miya* was, a prince's *mogari no miya* was normally erected away from the palace. It was usually located on a hill or mountain.[26] The length of the *mogari no miya* is unclear for the death of a prince, but it obviously did not have the same political context as the emperor's because a new emperor did not need to be chosen immediately following the death of a prince. However, the imperial princes were all candidates. Many times in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* the succession of emperors continues from brother to brother rather than from father to son. The brothers of the emperor would be princes just as the sons of the emperor would be. As discussed earlier, there were some instances in which the succession was not determined and various factions within the court would support one prince over another. For example, in the *Nihongi*, Emperor Ingyō makes the Prince Kinashi Karu 木梨軽皇子 Heir to the Throne in the 23rd year of his reign.[27] Prince

[26] Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry,* 204.

[27] *Nihongi*, 323.

Kinashi Karu, though, debauched a woman and “the Ministers would not follow him” because of this action. He took his own life, and Emperor Ankō 安康天皇 succeeded instead.[28] This instance goes to show that even in circumstances in which the succession of the emperor was already determined, the support of the Ministers and other members of the court would determine if the predetermined succession would actually come to fruition. Thus, many members of the court, especially people serving the princes, would have high hopes for one prince or another to succeed the emperor, even while the emperor was still alive. The death of a prince would dash any hopes members of the court may have had for their particular prince, and these emotions can be easily seen in the poems concerning the death of a prince. To reveal the normative emotions, I will first look at poems MYS 2: 167-70 and MYS 2: 184-90 which were written during Empress Jitō’s **持統天皇** reign during time of the Crown Prince Kusakabe's 草壁皇子 *mogari no miya*. Then I will analyze poems MYS 2: 204-6 and MYS 2: 199-202 for emotions expressed only by the prince’s servants and other courtiers. I will lastly discuss the non-normative emotion in poems MYS 3: 420-2 written by a princess.

Like in poems surrounding the death of an emperor, one of the normative emotions for princes is awe at his divinity. In poems MYS 2: 167-193, the authors Kikinomoto no Hitomaro 柿本人麻呂 and the Crown Prince’s serving men emphasize awe of the Crown Prince’s divinity. Kikinomoto starts with a recitation of the imperial myths from the beginning of time down through the Prince’s death. This recitation of the myths not only recalls the gods’ creation of Japan but also the fact that the Crown Prince was part of a conceived unbroken line of descent from the gods down to the present time. After this recitation, the poem reads, “If our Lord, the

[28] *Nihongi*, 328.

Crown Prince, / had lived to follow him/ and rule the realm under heaven."[29] Although the Crown Prince did not succeed his father Emperor Temmu 天武天皇 and Emperor Jimmu 神武天皇 (the first emperor of Japan), Kikinomoto uses the same phrase "rule the realm under heaven" that was also used to express awe of the emperor's divinity. The extra recitation of the myths along with this line work together to emphasize that the Crown Prince was in fact divine, even though he died before he was able to ascend to the throne. One of the poems written by a serving man, does something similar to emphasize awe of the Crown Prince's divinity by stating:

takaterasu	O the Garden Palace
wagahinomikono	where our child
yorodsuyoni	of the high-shining sun
kunishirasamashi	was meant to rule the land
shimanomiyahamo	for ten thousand generations![30]

It is not simply enough to state that the Crown Prince was supposed to rule to create a sense of awe of his divinity. His life and death need to be located within the myth that he is a direct descendant of Amaterasu, which is accomplished by referring to him as "our child / of the high shining sun."[31] Kikinomoto also does something similar in poems after the death of Prince Takechi 高市皇子. He compares the prince to Amaterasu by saying that the prince "godlike, has secluded himself/ in the rocks,"[32] just as Amaterasu secluded herself in a cave after her brother defiled her palace.[33] Then Kikinomoto gives a description of the way Prince Takechi subdued distant lands in the same way Prince Yamato Takeru 日本武尊/倭建命, also known as Prince

[29] MYS 2: 167, 29-31 (32-36).

[30] MYS 2: 171.

[31] This phrase also appears in MYS 2: 173, 1-2.

[32] MYS 2: 199, 8-9 (12-13).

[33] Ō, *Kojiki*, 23; *Nihongi*, 41-49.

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Ōsu 小碓命 (another prince who died without becoming emperor), did in the myths.[34] Kikinomoto associates Prince Takechi's death with the mythical Prince Yamato Takeru to emphasize the divinity of the prince. After a prince's final burial, Princess Tamochi 手持女王 associates his death with the myth of Amaterasu by stating that he has "concealed himself inside" the tomb, just Amaterasu concealed herself in the rock cave after being upset by her brother.[35] All of these poems locate the death of the prince within the myths to create a sense of awe for his divinity even though he was not able to ascend to the throne.Another normative is a feeling of disorientation. Kikinomoto expresses this in the last few lines of MYS 2: 167:

asakotoni	Now many days and months have passed
mikototohasanu	since the voice of his morning commandments,
hitsukino	fell silent,
manekunarinure	and the Prince's courtiers
sokoyuweni	do not know which way to turn.[36]
mikonomiyahito	
yukuheshirazumo	

Usually the courtiers would wake up each morning and go to the prince or the emperor to receive their morning commandments, after the death these commandments are no longer given, so the courtiers do not know what to do through each day.[37] This is disorientating because the courtiers are at a loss for what to do; the normal frame of their day and their expectations for the future have changed. The Crown Prince was supposed to become emperor and all of the courtiers who served him would have been promoted. These courtiers had "placed their hopes on him"[38] to

[34] Ō, *Kojiki*, 99-106; *Nihongi*, 200-209.

[35] MYS 3: 418, 4.

[36] MYS 2: 167, 48-52 (66-75).

[37] Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry*, 207.

[38] MYS 2: 167, 38 (55).

achieve a high political position. These hopes have been dashed and the courtiers are not only disoriented in their day-to-day life but also in their political career. They "do not know which way to turn" means that they do not now know which other prince to try to serve to get them to a higher political position. They are probably trying to maneuver themselves to obtain just as high of a position that they could have under the Crown Prince, but that will be difficult as the other princes probably already have their own loyal courtiers. Princess Tamochi also expresses disorientation by saying "I do not know what to do."[39] She is unable to bring back the prince and feels disoriented because she cannot do that which she wishes and also because she may no longer have a prince on whom to put her political aspirations.

Kikinomoto further emphasizes this disorientation of the courtiers by stating:

mikadonohitomo	and the courtiers who served him
shirotaheno	now wear mourning clothes of white hemp.
asagoromokite	On the fields
haniyasuno	before the Haniyasu Palace gate
mikadonoharani	they crawl and stumble like deer
akanesasu	as long as the sun still streams its crimson,
hinokotogoto	and when pitch-black night descends
shishijimono	they crawl around like quail.[40]
ihafushitsutsu	
nabatamano	
yufuheninareba	
ohotonowo	
furisakemitsutsu	
udsuranasu	

This feeling of stumbling and crawling resonates with other descriptions of how people act after death in the myths. Similar poems are sung after the death of Prince Yamato Takeru and Izanagi 伊邪那岐/伊弉諾 crawled around the body of Izanami 伊弉冉尊/伊邪那美命 after her death.[41]

[39] MYS 3: 419, 4 (5).

[40] MYS 2: 199, 78-85 (23-36).

[41] Ō, *Kojiki*, 13; *Nihongi*, 23.

A character in the *Izumo no Kuni Fudoki* 出雲国風土記 also sobs and stumbles near his daughter's grave after she was killed by a shark.[42] At first this crawling and stumbling seem just like ritual actions taken after death, but they also express a feeling of disorientation. The courtiers are unable to stand up. The shock and reality of the death are so powerful that the courtiers are unsteady; they can only crawl and stumble. The poet Okisome no Azumabito 置始東人 expresses this same disorientation after the death of Prince Yuge 弓削皇子. The poem reads:

ayanikashikomi	with awe
hiruhamo	we fall before him
hinokotogoto	and lament through the day,
yoruhamo	each day,
yonokotogoto	and through the night.
fushiwinagekedo	each night,
akitaranukamo	but cannot cry enough.[43]

Ōtomo no Yakamochi, 大伴宿祢家持 a serving man of Prince Asaka 安積皇子, also states,

koimarobi	I collapse,
hidsuchinakedomo	I weep,
semusubemonashi	splattered with mud,
	but there is nothing I can do.[44]

The pain of these deaths is so disorienting that the only thing the mourners can do is fall and cry.

Another normative emotion is complaint. As already discussed, Kikinomoto asks the common question "what could have been / in his mind,"[45] which suggests that the deceased

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[42] Michiko Y. Aoki, *Records of Wind and Earth: A Translation of* Fudoki *with Introduction and Commentaries* (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, 1997), 84.

[43] MYS 2: 204, 8-14 (10-16).

[44] MYS 3: 475, 25-28 (27-29).

[45] MYS 2: 167, 43-44 (58-59).

choose to die and that all the emotions felt after the death of the prince are his fault. One of the serving men of the Crown Prince complains,

ametsuchito	I served him thinking,
tomoniwohemuto	"until the end
omohitsutsu	of heaven and earth."
tsukahematsurishi	My heart has been betrayed.[46]
kokorotagahinu	

His heart has been betrayed by the death of the Crown Prince. All of the hopes and dreams this serving man had in serving the Crown Prince are gone. The serving man is complaining at how this has affected his life and about the fact that he feels betrayed by the Crown Prince. Princess Ōku 大来皇女 most movingly expresses her complaint after the death of Prince Ōtsu 大津皇子, her brother. In two poems, she asks why she traveled from Ise to meet him since he is no longer alive. She states that the consequence of this travel is that she has "only tired my horse."[47] She made this journey from Ise to the capital after the death of the Prince. She knew she was coming because he passed away, but she complains about making the long journey "when [she] might have stayed/ in the land of Ise."[48] She frames her travel as undertaken because she wanted to see the Prince and is unable to do so.

An additional normative emotion expressed in poem is loyalty to the deceased prince. A poem written by Kikinomoto, reads:

shimanomiya	In the Garden Palace,
magarinoikeno	in the Curved Pool,
hanachitori	the roaming water-birds
hitomenikohite	long for men's eyes
ikenikadsukazu	and do not dive.[49]

[46] MYS 2: 176.

[47] MYS 2: 164, 5.

[48] MYS 2: 163, 2-3.

[49] MYS 2: 170.

The Garden Palace is the place from which the Crown Prince would have ruled, and it seems like the same location of his *mogari no miya*. The water-birds are described as roaming, which makes it seem like they do not usually stay in one place for long, but here they do not dive. They, like the mourners, stay at the Garden Palace to both be comforted by other people but also out of loyalty to the Crown Prince. Like in the discussion of feelings for loyalty for the emperor, longing and waiting are both expressions of loyalty because the people do not go on to supporting a new emperor, or in this case prince, after the death; they stay with the prince. Poem MYS 2: 184 written by one of the Crown Prince's serving men also shows this connection between waiting and loyalty. It reads:

himugashino	Though I wait on him
taginomikadoni	by the Imperial Gate
samorahedo	where the eastern waters fall,
kinofumokefumo	he will not summon me,
mesukotomonashi	not today, not tomorrow.[50]

He knows that the Prince will never return to give him his commands, but despite this fact, the serving man remains loyal and waits despite the hopelessness of his waiting. Another serving man most effectively showcases a feeling of loyalty to the Crown Prince. His poem reads:

tsuremonaki	If we return
sadanowokaheni	to Sata's remote hillside,
kaheriwiba	who will reside
shimanomihashini	on the Garden steps?[51]
tarekasumahamu	

It is his and his fellow serving men's duty to be with the Crown Prince and serve him on the Garden steps. If they return, there will be no one there to serve the Prince; they will no longer be

[50] MYS 2: 184.

[51] MYS 2: 187.

loyal to him. Princess Niu 丹生王 also expresses loyalty to Prince Iwata 石田王 in poem MYS 3: 422 by saying, “My thoughts of you/ shall not easily pass.”[52] She will not easily forget the Prince, nor will her loyalties easily sway to another even though he is gone.

The final normative emotion upon the death of a prince is hopelessness. Above, poem MYS 2: 184 is discussed in terms of the loyalty the serving man still feels to the Crown Prince, but a sense of hopelessness is also expressed. Although the serving man continues to wait for the Crown Prince, he knows the Crown Prince will never again summon him. His actions will not bring the Prince back even though he may hope against hope that they will. Poem MYS 2: 188 also shows this hopelessness. It reads:

asagumori	Morning was overcast,
hinoiriyukeba	the sun did not come out,
mitatashino	so I came down to the Garden
shimanioriwite	and stayed here lamenting.[53]
nagekitsurukamo	

The lack of the actual sun/a symbol for the Crown Prince in this poem shows a feeling of desolation and sadness. There is no hope when the sun/Prince is no longer there. The fact that this serving man expresses his going to the Garden as an intentional choice shows that he is unable to carry on his normal duties because there is no hope for the sun/Prince to come out today. Princess Ōku also presents hopelessness in poem MYS 2: 166. In this poem she says,

isonouheni	I would pluck the andromeda
ofuruashibiwo	that grows on the beach,
tawaramedo	but they say that you
misubekikimiga	are not here to look at it.[54]
aritoihanakuni	

[52] MYS 3: 422, 1-2 (4).

[53] MYS 2: 188.

[54] MYS 2: 166.

She wishes to pick the andromeda in order to show it to her deceased brother Prince Ōtsu, but this is a hopeless action. He is no longer alive to appreciate her plucking the andromeda. A poem by an unknown author after the death of a prince shows this hopelessness with a Buddhist flair. The poem compares the prince to a moon that has waxed and waned and calls life "an empty thing."[55] Death is something that is a natural part of life, and there is no hope of stopping death or returning the dead to life.

Emotions of Serving Men and Other Courtiers

The serving men and other courtiers who have political aspirations that are dependent on a prince will naturally have different emotions than a princess who already has her position secured, such as Princess Ōku who is already serving at Ise. These emotions include an expression of shock due to the child-like quality of the prince, grief, and fondness for the life of the deceased. Discussed above, poems MYS 2: 204 show awe for the divinity of the prince, but he is referred to as "our child / of the high-shining sun."[56] The author, Okisome, describes Prince Yuge in this way to emphasize the divinity of the Prince, but also to show a sense of shock at the death of the Prince. A child is supposed to live for a long time, but this Prince dies before he is able to take the throne. He was expected to have a long life and reign, and people are shocked by his earlier than expected death. Poem MYS 2: 171 by a serving man similarly expresses this shock:

takaterasu	O Garden Palace
wagahinomikono	where our child
imashiseba	of the high-shining sun
shimanomikadoha	was meant to rule the land

[55] MYS 3: 442, 1 (1-2).

[56] MYS 2: 204, 3-4.

arezuaramashiwo for ten thousand generations![57]

This serving man also expected the Crown Prince to have a lengthy reign and is shocked at the early death. Poem MYS 2: 173 also uses the phrase "our child / of the high-shining sun" to express shock at the death.[58]

Explicit expressions of grief are also characteristic of poems by serving men and other courtiers. For example, poem MYS 2: 204 ends with Okisome saying that the mourners

hiruhamo lament through the day,
hinokotogoto each day,
yoruhamo and through the night,
yonokotogoto each night,
fushiwinagekedo but cannot cry enough.[59]
akitaranukamo

They continue to mourn him constantly through the day and night, but they will never be able to express the extent of their grief. Their tears will not be enough to convey the pain and sorrow they feel. Poem MYS 2: 199 by Kikinomoto presents the grief of the mourners, saying that they moan in vain, their cries cannot be stilled, nor their mournful thoughts exhausted before the Prince is resting in his final interment.[60] Poem MYS 3: 475 expresses this grief both in observing the courtiers and as a personal feeling. Ōtomo, a serving man, states that he weeps and the "serving men / have donned white mourning robes."[61] The mourning robes are ritual garments, so the serving men he describes are probably engaging in whatever actions are deemed

[57] MYS 2: 171.

[58] MYS 2: 173, 1-2.

[59] MYS 2: 204, 10-14 (11-16).

[60] MYS 2: 199.

[61] MYS 3: 475, 19-20 (21-22).

acceptable during this time, which might be collapsing in tears such as Ōtomo describes as the physical expression of his own grief.

These courtiers also fondly remember the life of the deceased prince in their poems. Kikinomoto spends 60 lines of poem MYS 2: 199 (104 in the original) recalling the militaristic actions of Prince Takechi.[62] Although this remembrance is filled with the awesome and terrified feelings that Prince Takechi instilled in his opponents, Kikinomoto recalls these actions in a fond way. The militaristic actions were how Prince Takechi pacified the land, which is seen as a beneficial thing for the descendants of the gods to do. For example, Emperor Jimmu, Prince Yamato Takeru, and other emperors and princes pacify the land of Japan on behalf of the gods and emperors. Yakamochi fondly recalls the Prince Asaka's morning hunts in poem MYS 3: 478. He states how the Prince would drive all the deer and boar, quail and pheasants from their lairs, resulting in a plentiful bounty. All the courtiers who served Prince Asaka "trusted that he/ would always be thus."[63] They wanted to continue hunting with him and enjoyed their time together. A serving man of Crown Prince Kusakabe recalls the past in a different way, yet still with fondness in poem MYS 2: 186. It reads:

hitohiniha	The great Eastern Gate
chitabimawirishi	that I passed through
himugashino	a thousand times a day
ohokimikadowo	now I hesitate to enter.[64]
irikatenukamo	

This serving man did not used to hesitate to pass through this gate when he was serving the Crown Prince, but now that he is no longer, the serving man is not able to light-heartedly do the

[62] MYS 2: 199, 10-70 (14-118).

[63] MYS 3: 478, 29-30 (31-33).

[64] MYS 2: 186.

same actions that he once did in the course of his service. He fondly remembers the time when he was serving the Crown Prince and juxtaposes it with the worry and hesitation that accompanies him now.

Non-normative Emotions

In addition to these normative emotions, there are also non-normative emotions of regret expressed by Princess Niu and longing expressed by Kikinomoto. Like the regret felt after the death of an emperor, the regret Princess Niu feels after the death of Prince Iwata is in not taking certain actions to prevent the death. She states, "My regret swells between heaven and earth, / mine is the greatest regret in the world."[65] She wishes that she would have taken actions to foretell his death, like divining through evening sorcery or sorcery of stones. She then wishes that she would have heeded the word of the divinations and taken actions to prevent the death, like raising an altar, planting offering jars by her pillow, stringing bamboo beads, hanging mulberry strands on her arms, and performing ablutions on a riverbank while praying for the Prince.[66] Her regret here is much heavier than the regret discussed concerning the death of an emperor. In terms of longing, Kikinomoto writes:

hisakatano	Although you rule
ameshirashinuru	the far heavens now,
kimiyuweni	we go on longing for you,
hitsukimoshirazu	unmindful of the passing
kohiwatarukamo	of sun and moon.[67]

This is an explicit expression of his and the other courtier's longing for Prince Takechi; yet as discussed above, this longing can also be interpreted as loyalty. Although these two emotions of

[65] MYS 3: 420, 12-13 (16-18).

[66] Ibid., 19-31 (22-45).

[67] MYS 2: 200.

regret and longing are not as prominent in the poems surrounding the death of a prince as other emotions, they are still recognized in the *Man'yōshū* as legitimate, proper feelings.

Princesses and Others

Princesses

Compared to the diversity of authors of poems about the death of emperors and princes, there are only a few categories of authors for poems about the death of princesses and others in the *Man'yōshū*. The authors of poems for princesses include only courtiers and princes, while the authors of poems for other people include only other courtiers. In addition, there is only one female author in this category of poems. Due to the authors' lack of diversity in social status and gender, none of the emotions present in the poems surrounding the death of princesses and other people can be labeled as normative. In addition, there are not enough poems about princesses to make a solid claim as to the normality of certain emotions upon her death. There are, however, a plethora of poems about the death of courtiers and other people, but the emotions present represent many of the same emotions that were expressed upon the death of emperors and princes. Like poems about princesses' deaths, there are no normative emotions to express upon the deaths of courtiers or other people. However, the fact that the emotions present in both poems surrounding princesses' and others' deaths resonate with the emotions already discussed indicates that longing, complaint, shock, hopelessness, disorientation, grief, fond remembrance, regret, and awe and regret were all appropriate emotional reactions to death regardless of the deceased's status or relationship with the living; these emotions were acceptable to express upon death in general.

Unlike the poems concerning the death of an emperor or prince, in books two and three of the *Man'yōshū* there are only a few poems that concern the death of a princess, and no poems

that deal with the death of an empress. This is perhaps because there was not as strong of a socio-political context surrounding these deaths, as compared to the backdrop of the deaths of princes and emperors. In fact, there are only three sets of poems concerning the death of a princess in books two and three: MYS 2: 156-8, MYS 2: 196-9, and MYS 2: 203. All of these poems are written by males; two of them are written by a prince and one by Kikinomoto, so there is not a diverse range of authors to help determine which emotions were normative. The emotions expressed in these poems, however, resonate with emotions already discussed, indicating that these emotions were probably normative to apply to death in general. These emotions include: complaint, disorientation, awe, loyalty, and longing.

In poem MYS 2: 156-8, written by Crown Prince Takechi upon the death of Princess To'ochi 十市皇女, feelings of complaint, disorientation, and awe at the princess' divinity are all expressed. Unlike the complaints found in the poems concerning the death of emperors and princes, the complaint here is much subtler. Instead of asking what the princess was thinking or stating that she betrayed the living, Crown Prince Takechi merely states "Many are the nights I sleep alone."[68] The reason that he often sleeps alone is because Princess To'ochi is no longer alive, and she assumedly slept with him often while alive. He also states that he her life was short even though he thought it would be long. This is similar to the betrayal mentioned in MYS 2: 176 because both of the authors thought that the deceased would live for much longer than they actually did. In addition, disorientation is also expressed in this poem in the ending line, "but I do not know the path." This is also similar to other expressions of disorientation in MYS 2: 167 and MYS 3: 419 discussed above. Because the Crown Prince does not know the path in this poem, he cannot orient himself in order to make a trip to the crystal waters on the mountain. He is lost. He

[68] MYS 2: 156, 5.

also expresses awe at her divinity by stating that she is "lofty / like the divine cedars."[69] This expression, though, is different than other expressions of divinity as she is likened to divinity, rather than espoused as divine. This is the only poem in which there is a hint of awe surrounding her death.

Poems MYS 2: 196-9, written by Kikinomoto, on the other hand express a much more diverse range of emotions. Like poems MYS 2: 156-8, Kikinomoto expresses complaint and disorientation. In MYS 2: 196, Kikinomoto blames Princess Asuka 明日香皇女 for the prince's grief. After stating that the princess is gone and will not see or speak to the prince again, he states,

shikarekamo	That must be way our Prince,
ayanikanashimi	choked with sorrow,
nuedorino	morning his unrequited love
katakohidsuma	like the tiger thrush,
asatorino	goes back and forth.[70]
kayohasukimiga	

He claims that the cause of the prince's grief and actions of going back and forth are directly caused by the princess' death. This going back and forth also expresses disorientation, and Kikinomoto expands on this feeling of disorientation by saying that the prince is "staggering/ like an evening star, / reeling / like a great boat"[71] and that he and the other courtiers "do not know what to do."[72] Again there is a sense of not knowing and a feeling of staggering, falling, and unsteadiness that comes about after death. This is disorienting because the bereaved cannot find their feet; they do not seem to be able to ground and orient themselves after the death.

[69] Ibid., 1-2 (3-4). The original is corrupt, so this is only one possible interpretation.

[70] MYS 2: 196, 37-41 (51-59).

[71] Ibid., 47-50 (62-64).

[72] Ibid., line 52 (65).

In addition to these two emotions, Kikinomoto also expresses fond remembrance and loyalty. Kikinomoto spends several lines reminiscing about how the princess would go on excursions with the prince, how he would decorate her hair with flowers and leaves, and how she would praise him during her lifetime. These are fond remembrances that the prince is expected to have of Princess Asuka. Whether the prince or Kikinomoto actually fondly remember the princess in this way is of little concern, the more important take away is that because these feelings are expressed at such length in this poem, it shows that the prince is expected to have feelings of fondness. Loyalty is also expressed. Kikinomoto encourages the crowd to stay loyal by stating, "At least let us remember, / if only the sound, / if only the name" of the princess.[73] Even though she is no longer living, the people are expected to remember her and her name (especially because they are at the Asuka River). This is again reinforced in the envoy which states, "I cannot forget/ my Princess' name."[74] This envoy also expresses longing because it states, "hoping, but in vain, to meet her."[75] The speaker here continues to hope and long to meet the princess, even though it is impossible.

The last of the poems regarding a princess' death is MYS 2: 203, written by Prince Hozumi 穂積皇子 after Princess Tajima's 但馬皇女 death, and it expresses longing. It reads:

furuyukiha	Falling snow,
ahaninafuriso	Do not fall so hard.
yonabarino	Do not be a barrier to my sight
wikahinowokano	Of Ikai Hill in Yonabari.[76]
sekinasamakuni	

[73] Ibid., lines 55-57 (69-71).

[74] MYS 2: 198, 4-5.
[75] Ibid., 3.

[76] MYS 2: 203.

Prince Hozumi is looking towards the grave of Princess Tajima, and the falling snow is blocking his sight of the hill where her grave is located. The reason for him wanting to see the grave is because he is longing for her. He can no longer see her, so the next best thing is being able to see her grave. This poem indicates that he is still thinking about her even after her final interment. This is the only emotion that is expressed in this poem. By virtue of its inclusion in the *Man'yōshū*, longing is an appropriate emotion to feel upon the death of a princess; however, it cannot be proven to be a normative emotion because longing is only expressed in two poems.

Others

Unlike the poems concerning the death of a princess, there are a plethora of poems concerning others' deaths. Like the poems concerning the death of a princess, though, the poems concerning the deaths of others are also not written by a diverse range of authors, so no emotions can be defined as normative. The majority of these poems are written by male courtiers about the deaths of women. Sometimes these women are wives or concubines, sometimes they are maidens or unspecified women. There are also poems written by men towards other men, but there are only two sets of poems in this section written by women MYS 2: 224-5 and 3: 460-1. Within these sets of poems, emotions of longing, complaint, shock, hopelessness, disorientation, grief, fond remembrance, regret, and awe, among others are expressed. These emotions are the same as the emotions already discussed. While these emotions cannot be considered as normative for the death of courtiers specifically, they can be considered as normative in the respect that they are expressed after death in general.

Longing is the most normative emotion surrounding death in general. It is expressed in poems about emperors, princes, princesses, and it is the most prominent emotion expressed in poems about others. It is not only expressed from spouse to spouse or inferior to superior, but it

is also expressed by poets on behalf of a spouse and to people with whom they have no relationship. Upon the death of his wife, Kikinomoto longs for her and visits the Karu market, a place she frequented, in hopes of seeing someone who resembled her.[77] When someone tells him that she dwells on Hagai Mountain, he climbs the mountain only to discover that she is not visible.[78] Similarly Lord Takahashi 高橋 states that he longs for his deceased wife, even though it will not bring her back.[79] Yakamochi also longs for the days when he and his wife would stand together, pick blossoms, and show them to each other.[80] After the death of Yakamochi's father, Lord Ōtomo no Tabito, an unidentified author writes, "If you were here/ you would beckon me to serve you/ today and tomorrow."[81] Similar to the poems the serving men of Crown Prince Kusakabe, this poem expresses not only longing for the commands of the lord, but also loyalty. These poems all show longing from someone who shares a relationship with the deceased.

Longing, however, is also expressed from attributed authors with no relationship to the deceased. Tabito composes several poems upon seeing the corpse of a woman in a field. It is unclear what relationship he had with her, but he echoes the spell like quality of poems surrounding the death of an emperor by stating "if you were a jewel, / I would wrap you around my wrist, / and cease my painful longing."[82] Assumedly, he does not know or have any

[77] MYS 2: 207, 38-49 (41-51).

[78] MYS 2: 210, 35-46 (45-56); MYS 2: 213, 36-47 (45-55).

[79] MYS 3: 481, 38-39 (41-42).

[80] MYS 3: 466, 5-9 (5-10).

[81] MYS 3: 454, 2-4 (3-5).

[82] MYS 3: 436, lines 3-5.

relationship with this woman; however, he still expresses longing. Similarly, upon seeing a nameless dead man, Kikinomoto asks "Does she not wait for you, / worrying and longing, / your beloved wife?"[83] He also composes a poem after the death of a woman he never met, the maiden of Tsu.[84] In this poem, he expresses her husband's longing for her.[85] In another similar poem composed by a sub-official upon the death of a scribe in Settsu, the sub-official states that Tatsumaro's wife waits for his return.[86] Unlike Tabito, Kikinomoto and the sub-official do not express longing as an emotion they feel, but rather as an emotion that the wife is expected to feel upon the absence of her husband. Kikinomoto's wife, the maiden of Yosami, also reinforces this expectation that the wife of the deceased express longing, in her poems after his death. She had been waiting for him to return to her while he was away, but now, "Never again to meet him/ in the flesh" her longing is unassuaged.[87] These two poems show that longing was an expected emotion to express upon death, especially for husbands and wives to express after the death of their spouse.

Complaint is another normative emotion surrounding death in general because it is present in poems about emperors, princes, princesses, and others. Some of these poems reflect complaints similarly to complaints discussed above, but there are also a few poems that express complaint in a unique way, in the form of blame for leaving children behind. MYS 3: 462, written by Yakamochi after his concubine died, shows this complaint most succinctly. It reads:

imayoriha	Soon the autumn winds

[83] MYS 2: 220, lines 47-49.

[84] MYS 2: 217: lines 15-19.

[85] Ibid., line 32.

[86] MYS 3: 445, lines 4-5.

[87] MYS 2: 224-5.

akikazesamuku	Will be blowing coldly;
fukinamuwo	How can I sleep
Ikanikahitori	Through the long nights alone?[88]
nagakiyowonemu	

Yakamochi, a prominent court poet, shows here that he is lonely because he will be by himself during the cold autumn nights, but he is also lodging a subtle complaint. Without her, he will be lonely and cold; thus, unable to sleep. Similarly, in MYS 3: 440, Tabito blames a nameless dead woman for the painful nights that he has when he sleeps alone in his desolate house. Kikinomoto subtly blames the husband of the maiden of Tsu for her husband's sleepless nights and painful longing by asking if the husband's loneliness and regret keep him thinking of his wife and unable to sleep.[89] Their sleepless nights are directly caused by thoughts of the deceased women and their loneliness without her. The above poems are all similar to MYS 2: 156 in which Prince Takechi blames the late Princess To'ochi for his sleepless nights. Like poems MYS 2: 162 and 2: 167 about an emperor and prince respectively, MYS 2: 217, 3: 443, 3: 460 question the deceased's motives for dying by asking what could have been in the deceased's mind.[90] These poems that frame the deceased as the cause for sleepless nights and situating death as an intentional decision of the deceased are similar to expressions of complaint after various deaths.

Poems about others' deaths are unique, however, in the sense that many of the poems written after women's deaths contain complaints surrounding the children they left behind. Lord Takahashi, in MYS 3: 481, lodges a complaint at his deceased wife by lamenting the fact that she left their crying child and that he is now the one who has to take on the burden of carrying the

[88] MYS 3: 462.

[89] MYS 2: 217, 27-32 (28-31).

[90] MYS 2: 217, 5-6; MYS 3: 443, 50-51 (49-50); MYS 3: 460, 11-12 (15-16).

child on his back and holding the child close to him.[91] Yakamochi references the infant that his wife left behind in MYS 3: 467, and Kikinomoto also uses his child as the subject of his complaint in MYS 2: 210 and MYS 2: 213 and subtly implies that it is his wife's leaving that causes their infant to be hungry and cry.[92]

Although expressions of shock occur after the death of emperors, expressions of shock about others deaths resonate more with the poems by serving men about princes. MYS 3: 457 resonates with normative expressions of shock after the death of princes by stating "Lord whom I thought I would serve, / far into the distant future."[93] Similarly, Yakamochi states that everyone is destined to die, but he and his wife thought that she would live and their love would endure for a thousand years.[94] Furthermore, Kikinomoto states that the maiden of Tsu passed before her time, and after the suicide of a scribe, a sub-official comments that "it was not his time." [95] All of these poems state an expectation that the deceased would live longer; however, expressions of shock upon the death of an emperor usually stem from not knowing that the emperor was going to die.

Hopelessness is an emotion expressed as frequently as shock, and it resonates more with poems about emperors than princes. The most poignant expression of this hopelessness is in one of Kikinomoto's poems about his deceased wife. The last few lines read: "I could do nothing / but call my wife's name / and wave my sleeves."[96] After trying to see some resemblance of his

[91] MYS 3: 481, 16 and 33-35 (19-20 and 36-38).

[92] MYS 3: 467, 5; MYS: 2: 210, 21-26 (27-32); MYS 2: 213, 22-26 (27-30).

[93] MYS 3: 457, 1-2 (1-4).

[94] MYS 3: 470.

[95] MYS 2: 217, 34 (32); MYS 3: 443, 56 (55).

[96] MYS 2: 207, 50-53 (53-54).

wife at Karu market, he realizes that there is nothing he can do to bring her back or meet her again. The act of waving his sleeves has also been interpreted as a *tama* recalling ritual, thus resonating strongly with empresses' actions to recall the *tama* of the emperor and bind it in things like jewels and robes. There are also a few common phrases that express hopelessness across several poems, which resonate more with normative expressions of hopelessness for princes. Two of these phrases are: "There is nothing I can say, / nothing I can do"[97] and "There is nothing I can do."[98] Just as the empresses could do nothing to bring back the deceased emperor, neither can the courtiers do anything to bring back their deceased. Phrases such as, "life never comes / but to this"[99] and "Though it is destined / to come but to this,"[100] however, resonate more with MYS 3: 442 about a prince which claims that life is an empty thing. Everyone must die, including princes.

Appearing in poems about princes and princesses, disorientation is also present in poems about others. In these poems there is both disorientation in not knowing what to do and physical unsteadiness. When Kikinomoto first hears of his wife's passing, he reflects, "I did not know what to say, / what to do,"[101] similar to Princess Tamochi's disorientation in MYS 3: 419 after the death of the Crown Prince. This feeling of disorientation is also expressed in terms of being unable to find one's direction after the loss. For example, Kikinomoto laments, "my wife is lost / and I do not know the path / to find her by,"[102] and Lady Ōtomo no Sakanoue no Iratsume 大伴

[97] MYS 3: 460, 36-37 (43-44); MYS 3: 481, 22-23 (27-28).

[98] MYS 3: 456, 2; MYS 3: 466, 22 (25).

[99] MYS 3: 472, 2-3 (1-3).

[100] MYS 3: 470, 1-2.

[101] MYS 2: 207, 32-33 (32-35).

[102] MYS 2: 208, 3-5.

坂上郎女 states, “I wander/ all alone.”[103] These expressions resemble Kikinomoto’s recitation of the Crown Prince’s serving men’s disorientation in MYS 2: 167 and Prince Takechi’s inability to find the path after Princess Asuka passed in MYS 2: 158. In other poems surrounding princes and princesses’ deaths, there is a feeling of physical unsteadiness represented with words like crawling, stumbling, falling, collapsing, and staggering. Poems about others also have this unsteady, disoriented imagery. A servant of Tabito states that he crawls like a baby as he weeps night and day after his Lord passed.[104] Unlike any of the other poems, though, two poems about others use the phrase, “my heart has lost its bearing”[105] to express disorientation. This is a unique expression of disorientation, but it fits in with the rest of the expressions in that the author’s heart has lost its direction.

In poems about emperors, princes, and princesses, grief is usually shown by people with recognized connections to the deceased; likewise, most of the poems that express grief about an others’ death are written from the perspective of the spouse of the deceased. Yakamochi, giving over his wife states, “time has passed, / though the tears I weep/ have yet to dry”[106] and “there is no day / when I do not weep.”[107] In MYS 3: 483, Takahashi will continue weeping into the future because he cannot meet his wife again. Other expressions of grief from husbands to wives include: “It racks my breast to think of it. / I cannot express it in words,”[108] “lament as I may,”[109]

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[103] MYS 3: 460, 38-39 (45-46).

[104] MYS 3: 458.

[105] MYS 3: 471, 5; MYS 3: 457, 4 (5).

[106] MYS 3: 469, 4-6 (3-5).

[107] MYS 3: 473, 4-5 (5).

[108] MYS 3: 466, 17-18 (19-22).

[109] MYS 2: 210, 32 (41); MYS 2: 213, 34 (41).

and "I go inside/ and grieve."[110] The only expressions from a servant to his lord are found in MYS 3: 456 and 3: 458 in which a servant of Tabito weeps in the mornings and evenings for his deceased lord.[111] In one poem, however, Lady Ōtomo expresses grief for a nun by stating that her tears will fall like rain over Arima Mountain.[112] Grief is not a normative emotion for emperors, princes, or princesses. It is only expressed by the recognized female partners of emperors and serving men/courtiers of princes. Likewise, the people who express grief over others are usually either servants of their lord or husbands/wives. This indicates that grief is an appropriate emotion to express to someone to whom the author has a recognized, official relationship.

Fond remembrance is expressed in poems concerning princes, princesses, and others' deaths, though only in four sets of poems. In the set of Kakinomoto's poems about his wife, he spends the first several lines fondly remembering her and their history together.[113] He recalls the days he met her; [114] he also remembers when he would watch the autumn moon with her and contrasts that memory with the fact that he is watching the autumn moon without her this year.[115] Lord Takahashi also spends the first several lines of a poem about his deceased wife recalling the vows they made together and how they used to sleep side by side together before elaborating on her death and expressing other emotions.[116] These recollections are similar to how Kikinomoto

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[110] MYS 3: 481, 28-30 (34).

[111] MYS 3: 456; MYS 3: 458.

[112] MYS 3: 460, 42-46 (51-53).

[113] MYS 2: 207; MYS 2: 210; MYS 2: 213.

[114] MYS 2: 209.

[115] MYS 2: 211.

[116] MYS 3: 481.

recalls the time Princess Asuka and her prince spent together.[117] More in line with how serving men fondly remember their prince, Lady Ōtomo recalls a nun's life from her voyage from Silla to the Saho mountainside until her death.[118] Similarly, Kikinomoto recalls the life and deeds of Prince Takechi in MYS 2: 199. Yakamochi remembers his wife looking at blossoms in two of his poems, and when he feels the cold autumn wind or gazes on Saho Mountain, he remembers her.[119] This is similar to the remembrance of the prince's morning hunts in MYS 3: 478, as they are both actions that the deceased did individually, rather than a recitation of the life or remembrance of activities the deceased would do with the living.

A non-normative emotion expressed upon the death of emperors and princes, regret, is also a less commonly expressed emotion upon the death of others. It is only expressed in two sets of poems: MYS 2: 217-219 and MYS 3: 466-469. Kikinomoto expresses that he regrets not having met the maiden of Tsu, and he asks if it is regret that keeps her husband from sleeping at night.[120] He again emphasizes his own regret at never meeting her in an accompanying poem, MYS 2: 219. Yakamochi echoes sentiments of regret in poems surrounding emperors and princes for not trying to prevent the death of his wife. The specific poem reads:

sorakazofu	If I had known the path
ohotsunokoga	By which she left this world,
ahishihini	I would have placed a barrier there
ohonimishikaba	To hold her back.[121]
imozokuyashiki	

[117] MYS 2: 196.

[118] MYS 3: 460.

[119] MYS 3: 465; MYS 3: 466; MYS 3: 469; MYS 3: 473.

[120] MYS 2: 217.

[121] MYS 3: 468.

Similar to poems in which people had wished to place signs of interdiction,[122] Yakamochi regrets that he did not place barriers to stop his wife's spirit from leaving this world. The regret in these two sets of poems stems from different sources: one from regret at not meeting the deceased, and the other regret for not trying to prevent the death.

Like regret, feelings of awe are only expressed in two sets of poems; whereas awe is normative upon the deaths of emperors and princes. Kikinomoto compares his wife's death to "the radiant moon / secluding itself behind the clouds."[123] He also states that "she shrouds herself from me / in heavenly white raiments."[124] Lady Ōtomo states that the nun who passed "is hidden in the clouds."[125] In these poems, the awe expressed is not the same awe of divinity that appears in poems about emperors and princes. It does however use similar tropes, like stating that the deceased is secluded and hidden behind the clouds. There is no claim that these deceased are divine; rather, it is awe over the mere fact that the deceased has died, that a fundamental and irrevocable shift has occurred.

Conclusion

Although a wide range of emotions are present in the *Man'yōshū* concerning death, only a few of these emotions are normative depending on social and relational status of the deceased. As for the death of an emperor, normative emotions include: awe of the emperor's divinity, concern for other's thoughts, and longing for the emperor. His female sexual partners, however, express grief, and hopelessness. Yet other feelings of loyalty, complaint, gentleness, and shock are also regarded as appropriate. As for the death of a prince, there is a much wider range of

[122] See MYS 2: 151 and MYS 3: 420.

[123] MYS 2: 207, 29-30 (22-23).

[124] MYS 2: 210, 14-15 (19-20); MYS 2: 213, 15-16 (19-20).

[125] MYS 3: 461, 5.

normative emotions including: feelings of awe for the prince's divinity, disorientation, complaint, loyalty, and hopelessness. Servants and other courtiers express grief, fondly remember the prince's life, and shock. Kikinomoto only expresses longing, and Princess Niu only expresses regret. As for princesses and courtiers, there are no normative emotions. The expressed emotions, however, resonate with the normative emotions surrounding the deaths of emperors and princes, indicating that emotions including: longing, complaint, shock, hopelessness, disorientation, grief, fond remembrance, regret, and awe were accepted emotions to express regardless of the social and relational status of the deceased.

Out of the entire twenty books of the *Man'yōshū*, only books two and three have been addressed. There are other laments found in other books and analysis of these laments may show how normative emotions change over time. In addition, there are several poems in books two and three that are written during cremations that have not been discussed since they do not contain explicit expressions of emotion. Furthermore, there are a few laments found in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* that are much different than the ones discussed. Analysis of the emotions found in these poems and in the myths in general surrounding death would help round out the depiction of the normative emotions in early Japan. In his article, "Addressing a Dead Body," Shu Kuge places emphasis on the emotions that the sounds of the original Japanese convey.[126] Since so many poems are addressed in this paper, it was unfeasible to go into detailed analysis of the alliteration, etc. of the poems and what they signify. These deficits and opportunities are avenues for future research and analysis on the subject of emotions surrounding death.

Death is a momentous occasion in life, and it is not understood in the same way across space and time. Different cultures conceive of death and the afterlife differently, just as they

[126] Shu Kuge, "Addressing a Dead Body: From Dedication to Tele-Community," *Mosaic (Winnipeg)* 34, no. 4 (Dec, 2001): 183-199.

conceive of the emotions that are proper to express differently. By analyzing the emotions present in funeral laments in the *Man'yōshū*, I hope to have described part of the culture of the early Japanese aristocracy and a way in which they conceived of their relationship with the dead. I also hope to have also emphasized the particular social aspect in which these poems were performed. In modern America, it is easy to assume that grief is something that happens mostly on an individual level; everyone grieves differently. Yet in America, and in early Japan, the social dimension is very present and important. There are ways in which it is proper to grieve and ways in which it is not. Understanding the proper ways to grieve at any given time in any given culture, should help elucidate how people understand death and their own mortality. In the *Man'yōshū*, the poets understood death as evocative of a wide range of emotions to be expressed in a public, ritual context.

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